

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 DUBLIN 00713 01 OF 07 010050Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 SP-02 PER-01 SIG-01 A-01
MMO-01 EB-08 SCA-01 IO-13 INR-07 PM-04 CU-02
AGR-05 AID-05 CIAE-00 COM-02 DODE-00 FEA-01 NSC-05
TRSY-02 USIA-06 /095 W
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R 311829Z MAR 77
FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8957
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMCONSUL BELFAST
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 7 DUBLIN 0713

E.O. 11652: GDS
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SUBJECT: PARM - ANNUAL POLICY AND RESOURCE ASSESSMENT. IRELAND
PART I

REF: (A) STATE 38356, (B) STATE 38338, (C) STATE 41169

SUMMARY: THE MAINTENANCE OF THE STABILITY OF THIS DEMOCRATIC
AND WESTERN-ORIENTED COUNTRY IS OUR NUMBER ONE INTEREST. THIS
STABILITY IS THREATENED BY THE NORTHERN IRELAND TROUBLES
AND BY A VARIETY OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS. THERE IS,
UNFORTUNATELY, LITTLE WE CAN DO TO HELP THE NORTHERN IRELAND
PROBLEM EXCEPT OFFER OUR GOOD SERVICES TO THE TWO GOVERNMENTS
CONCERNED AND DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO STEM THE FLOW OF
MONEY AND MUNITIONS FOR TERRORISTS FROM THE U.S. IN OTHER
AREAS OUR INTERESTS ARE GENERALLY THE SAME AS IN OTHER SMALL
EUROPEAN STATES: I.E., URGING A POSITIVE ATTITUDE IN E.C.
AND OTHER MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS, DEVELOPING FAVORABLE
BILATERAL TRADE, COORDINATION AND COOPERATION IN AREAS SUCH
AS HUMAN RIGHTS. UNDERPINNING ALL INTERESTS AND POLICIES
IS THE NECESSITY OF MAINTAINING MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING.
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 DUBLIN 00713 01 OF 07 010050Z

I ALSO REMIND THAT IRISH/U.S. RELATIONS ARE CONDITIONED
BY A UNIQUE HISTORY OF CLOSENESS WHICH GIVES OUR BILATERAL
AFFAIRS CONSIDERABLE SENSITIVITY AND ATTENTION IN THE U.S.
END SUMMARY.

A. U.S. INTERESTS
UNDERPINNING AND CONDITIONING ALL OF OUR INTERESTS VIS-

A-VIS IRELAND IS THE HISTORICAL CLOSENESS OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES. ABOUT TEN PERCENT OF OUR POPULATION IS OF IRISH DECENT. IRELAND RECEIVES FAR MORE PUBLIC, CONGRESSIONAL AND MEDIA ATTENTION THAN ITS SIZE WOULD NORMALLY WARRANT. OUR MOST IMPORTANT INTERESTS AND THE POLICY OBJECTIVES STEMMING FROM THOSE INTERESTS ARE RELATED TO THIS CLOSENESS AND POLITICAL SENSITIVITY.

1. STABILITY. THE MAINTENANCE OF A DEMOCRATIC AND POLITICALLY STABLE IRISH SOCIETY REMAINS THE NUMBER ONE U.S. INTEREST. THERE ARE TWO MAJOR THREATS TO THIS STABILITY: THE NORTHERN IRELAND PROBLEM AND THE POLITICAL EFFECTS OF A SERIOUS DETERIORATION OF THE IRISH ECONOMY. TO SOME EXTENT THESE TWO ARE INTERTWINED. I SEE SOME TENTATIVE POSITIVE AND HOPEFUL SIGNS IN THE LATTER, BUT NOT VERY MUCH IN THE FORMER.

2. NORTHERN IRELAND. STEMMING FROM OUR MAJOR INTEREST IT IS MOST IMPORTANT TO DEVELOP SOME SOLUTION, OR AT LEAST THE BEGINNING OF A PROCESS TOWARD A SOLUTION, OF THE COMPLICATED AND TRAGIC SITUATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND, WHICH ALSO DRAINS THE REPUBLIC IN MANY WAYS. I DISCUSS OUR INVOLVEMENT AT SOME LENGTH BELOW, AND REGRETFULLY CONCLUDE THAT AT THIS TIME THERE IS LITTLE THE US GOVERNMENT CAN DO TO HELP THE SITUATION.

3. ECONOMY. THE DEPARTMENT HAS IDENTIFIED AS A MAJOR OVER-ALL INTEREST THE ECONOMIC HEALTH OF THE INDUSTRIAL NATIONS OF WESTERN EUROPE, OF WHICH IRELAND IS ONE, CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 DUBLIN 00713 01 OF 07 010050Z

ALBEIT ONE OF THE SMALLEST. IT IS ALSO ONE OF THE SICKEST ECONOMICALLY. THUS IRELAND'S ROLE IN THE HOPED-FOR GENERAL EUROPEAN ECONOMIC RECOVERY IS ONE PART OF A MAJOR MULTILATERAL INTEREST. BUT RELATED TO IRELAND'S STABILITY, THIS PARTICULAR INTEREST IS SPECIFIC: AT WHAT POINT IN THE UNEMPLOYMENT GRAPH OR GENERAL ECONOMIC MALAISE DO WE HAVE SERIOUS POLITICAL AND SOCIAL DISCONTENT HERE? IRELAND HAS THE HIGHEST UNEMPLOYMENT AND INFLATION RATES OF THE EC COUNTRIES. HOPEFULLY THE TREND SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN STOPPED AND PERHAPS WE WILL BE SPARED HAVING TO ANSWER THE ABOVE QUESTION.

4. EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES. CONTINUATION OF IRELAND'S OUTWARD-LOOKING POLICY OF PLAYING A FULL ROLE IN THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY, INCLUDING ITS DEMONSTRATED WILLINGNESS TO HOLD AN UNDERSTANDING AND COOPERATIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD FOSTERING THE US/EC RELATIONSHIP, IS ANOTHER IMPORTANT INTEREST. I NOTE THAT US RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES OF WESTERN EUROPE AND

JAPAN WILL REMAIN THE BEDROCK OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY.
IT IS THEREFORE SELF EVIDENT THAT OUR INTERESTS
DICTATE COOPERATION WITH THE IRISH GOVERNMENT ON A
CLOSE AND CONTINUING BASIS IN ORDER TO GET MAXIMUM
UNDERSTANDING OF AND, SUPPORT FOR US POLICIES WITHIN
THE COUNCILS OF THE EC NINE.

CONFIDENTIAL

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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 DUBLIN 00713 02 OF 07 010058Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 SP-02 PER-01 SIG-01 A-01
MMO-01 EB-08 SCA-01 IO-13 INR-07 PM-04 CU-02
AGR-05 AID-05 CIAE-00 COM-02 DODE-00 FEA-01 NSC-05
TRSY-02 USIA-06 /095 W
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R 311829Z MAR 77
FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8958
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMCONSUL BELFAST
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 7 DUBLIN 0713

5. MULTILATERAL FORUMS. IRELAND'S STAKE IN THE EC
IS ITS MAJOR MULTILATERAL COMMITMENT, BUT ITS PARTICIPA-
TION IN AND, WHERE EVER POSSIBLE, SUPPORT OF US GOVERN-
MENT POSITIONS IN THE OTHER MAJOR MULTILATERAL FORUMS
IS ALSO AN IMPORTANT U.S. INTEREST. WE DO NOT WANT TO
EXAGGERATE IRELAND'S ROLE, BUT BECAUSE OF ITS NUANCED
DIFFERENCE FROM THE OTHER WESTERN EUROPEAN STATES --
I.E., ITS RATHER RECENT "INDEPENDENCE" FROM ITS OWN
"COLONIAL PERIOD" -- IRELAND'S VOICE IS LISTENED TO WITH
CONSIDERABLE RESPECT BY THE LDC'S. IT IS NOT IN THE
CAMP OF THE LDC'S NOT IN THE CAMP OF THE SO-CALLED
NON-ALIGNED, NOT REALLY SEEN AS A FULLY INDUSTRIALIZED
WESTERN STATE, BUT IN SOMETHING OF A SPECIAL NICHE.
THUS IT CAN PROVIDE ACCEPTABLE PERSONNEL, USEFUL IN A
POLARIZED MULTILATERAL ENVIRONMENT. FOR INSTANCE,
IRELAND PROVIDED THE PRESIDENCY OF THE ILO LAST YEAR,
IS PROVIDING THE CURRENT UNFICYP COMMANDER, IS CURRENTLY
PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE, AND HAS PROVIDED A
NUMBER OF CHAIRMANSHIPS IN VARIOUS UN BODIES. WE HOPE
IT WILL BE ABLE TO RETURN TO A POLICY OF PROVIDING

CONTINGENTS FOR PEACE-KEEPING FORCES.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 DUBLIN 00713 02 OF 07 010058Z

6. TRADE AND COMMERCE. IN BILATERAL TERMS, WE HAVE A STRONG INTEREST IN THE PROTECTION AND PROMOTION OF THE ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL ROLE OF THE US IN IRELAND. IRISH/US TRADE IS SMALL IN VOLUME COMPARED TO OTHER EUROPEAN STATES (IRELAND'S IMPORTS FROM THE U.S. TOTALLED \$350 MILLION LAST YEAR, WHILE EXPORTS AMOUNTED TO \$220 MILLION). IN THE FACE OF IRELAND'S EC MEMBERSHIP AND TRADITIONAL TIES WITH THE U.K., SIGNIFICANT EXPANSION OF TRADE WITH THE U.S. IS NOT LIEKLY BUT WE SHOULD DEVOTE SUFFICIENT RESOURCES TO PRESERVING AND TRYING TO INCREASE OUR SHARE. U.S. INVESTMENT HERE IS ANOTHER DIMENSION OF OUR ECONOMIC ROLE; SINCE THE ECONOMIC HEALTH OF THE COUNTRY IS ONE OF OUR MAJOR INTERESTS I BELIEVE WE SHOULD ENCOURAGE U.S. INVESTMENT, WHICH STANDS NOW AT ABOUT \$700 MILLION ON A CAPITAL ASSET BASIS.

7. HUMAN RIGHTS. WHILE FACING WHAT AMOUNTS BASICALLY TO A STRUGGLE FOR ULTIMATE SURVIVAL AGAINST A RUTHLESS INSURGENCY BY THE PROVISIONAL IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY, THE GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND HAS MAINTAINED A REGARD FOR THE RULE OF LAW AND CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AT HOME AND DOES NOT HESITATE TO SPEAK UP ABROAD. WE CAN CITE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE WINNER SEAN MCBRIDE, BISHOP LAMONT FROM RHODESIA WHO HAS JUST RETURNED TO A HERO'S WELCOME, AND FOREIGN MINISTER FITZGERALD'S STRONG HUMAN RIGHTS STANCE DURING HIS DECEMBER, 1976 VISIT TO MOSCOW. THE IRISH VOICE, SMALL BUT CREDIBLE, CAN BE OF ASSISTANCE IN OUR HUMAN RIGHTS EFFORT.

8. MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING. A BASIC INTEREST IS THE MAINTENANCE OF A CLIMATE OF FRIENDLY AND SYMPATHETIC UNDERSTANDING IN IRELAND OF THE US AND ITS POLICIES. MANY OF THE FOREGOING VITAL INTERESTS COULD BE ADVERSELY AFFECTED IF WE DO NOT KEEP UP AN EFFECTIVE PUBLIC AFFAIRS
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 DUBLIN 00713 02 OF 07 010058Z

PROGRAM. THE BILATERAL UNDERSTANDING AND COOPERATION COULD BE ERODED BY VARIOUS FACTORS, INCLUDING THE NEW AND EXPANDING SOVIET AND EASTERN EUROPEAN PRESENCE HERE, AND MORE SUBTLY AND PASSIVELY BY THE INCREASING IRISH ORIENTATION AWAY FROM ITS TRADITIONAL ATLANTIC IDENTIFICATION

TOWARD A EUROPEAN AND EC IDENTITY. THE LATTER IS NOT PARTICULARLY AGAINST OUR OWN INTERESTS, BUT I FEEL THAT WE SHOULD MAKE STRONG EFFORTS TO INSURE THAT IN THE PROCESS WE DO NOT INHERIT A GROWING NEGATIVE VIEW OF U.S. SOCIETY, VALUES AND POLICIES, PARTICULARLY AMONG THE SMALL BUT INFLUENTIAL NEW YOUNG ELITE IN BUSINESS, LABOR, ACADEMIA AND GOVERNMENT. WE HAVE MADE A GOOD BEGINNING IN TENDING THIS INTEREST WITH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A USIS INSTALLATION AFTER A HIATUS OF TWO DECADES.

9. CONSULAR SERVICES. THE NECESSITY OF MAINTAINING OUR CONSULAR SERVICES IS OFTEN OVERLOOKED IN REVIEWS OF POLICY. ISSUING 20,000 VISAS PER YEAR AND TAKING CARE OF THE NEEDS OF ABOUT 14,000 AMERICAN CITIZENS RESIDENT IN IRELAND, NOT TO COUNT U.S. TOURISTS, IS ONE OF THE BASIC BREAD-AND-BUTTER REASONS FOR OUR MISSION HERE, AND WE MUST INSURE THAT THE RESOURCES TO ACCOMPLISH THIS FUNCTION EFFECTIVELY ARE MAINTAINED.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 DUBLIN 00713 03 OF 07 010108Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 SP-02 PER-01 SIG-01 A-01
MMO-01 EB-08 SCA-01 IO-13 INR-07 PM-04 CU-02
AGR-05 AID-05 CIAE-00 COM-02 DODE-00 FEA-01 NSC-05
TRSY-02 USIA-06 /095 W
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R 311829Z MAR 77
FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8959
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMCONSUL BELFAST
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 7 DUBLIN 0713

10. NARCOTICS. IT IS A SMALL BUT GROWING PROBLEM HERE. IRELAND TRIES TO DO ITS PART IN THE INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMS, AND OUR ASSISTANCE IS BOTH WELCOMED AND, I BELIEVE, HELPFUL IN ASSISTING THE IRISH TO MAINTAIN A MODEST NARCOTICS CONTROL PROGRAM.

11. SECURITY. AS A FOOTNOTE, I WOULD LIKE TO FLAG U.S. SECURITY INTERESTS. AT PRESENT IRELAND CONTINUES ITS

TECHNICAL NEUTRALITY: IT DOES NOT HAVE ANY DEFENSIVE ALLIANCES AND IS THE ONLY EC COUNTRY NOT IN NATO. HOWEVER, FOR ALL PRACTICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL PURPOSES IT IS WITH THE WESTERN ALLIANCE AND REALIZES THAT ITS SECURITY, BASICALLY, DEPENDS UPON THE NATO SHIELD. DESPITE RECENT OPENINGS TO EAST EUROPE, IT REMAINS ALOOF FROM AND RELATIVELY SUSPICIOUS OF SOVIET AND EASTERN EUROPEAN ACTIVITIES. IN CSCE IT IS A "HAWK" AGAINST THE EAST. IN GENERAL EUROPEAN EAST-WEST DISCUSSIONS IT DOES NOT CAUCUS WITH THE OTHER EUROPEAN NEUTRALS SUCH AS SWEDEN AND AUSTRIA. IRELAND'S TECHNICAL NEUTRALITY IS HISTORICALLY RELATED TO ITS LONG STRUGGLE WITH THE U.K. THIS HISTORICAL SENSITIVITY HAS IN THE PAST MADE THE CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 DUBLIN 00713 03 OF 07 010108Z

QUESTION OF DISCUSSING IRISH ADHERENCE TO NATO A CLOSED SUBJECT. HOWEVER, SINCE IRELAND'S ACCESSION TO THE EC, WE HAVE NOTED INCREASING DISCUSSION OF THE POSSIBILITY (OR EVEN A PERCEIVED NEED) OF IRELAND ASSOCIATING ITSELF WITH REGIONAL SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS ALLIED TO ITS OTHER EC PARTNERS. ONE REASON FOR THIS IS A SUDDEN REALIZATION THAT IRELAND WILL SOMEHOW HAVE TO PROTECT ITS OFFSHORE FISHERIES AND POSSIBLE OFFSHORE OIL RESERVES. QUITE REMARKABLY THE OPPOSITION'S SHADOW FOREIGN MINISTER, MICHAEL O'KENNEDY, HAS OPENLY SAID OF LATE THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO SEE IRELAND JOIN NATO. HOWEVER, THIS IS ONLY A PROCESS BARELY BEGUN. WE MUST TREAT THE ISSUE DELICATELY BUT WATCH IT WITH CLOSE ATTENTION. INsofar AS I AM AWARE, IRELAND'S "TILTED NEUTRALITY" HAS NOT GIVEN OUR STRATEGIC PLANNERS ANY REAL PROBLEM. I FEEL THAT ITS EC PARTNERS, NOT THE U.S. AT LEAST AT THIS TIME, ARE THE ONES TO TALK TO THE GOI ABOUT REGIONAL SECURITY.

B. OVERVIEW

I DO NOT FORESEE MUCH CHANGE IN THE IRISH SITUATION IN THE NEXT TWO YEARS THAT WOULD DRASTICALLY ALTER U.S. INTERESTS OR OUR APPROACH TO THEM DESCRIBED IN PART A. UNFORTUNATELY I SEE ONLY SLIGHT AND GRADUAL IMPROVEMENT IN THE NORTHERN IRELAND SITUATION, BUT I FULLY EXPECT THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS TO CONTINUE THEIR JOINTLY RESPONSIBLE, FRUSTRATING SEARCH FOR SOME POLITICAL SOLUTION. IN OTHER AREAS I EXPECT THE 1977-79 PERIOD FOR IRELAND TO BE ONE OF RENEWED BUT MODEST ECONOMIC GROWTH, CONTINUED EFFORTS TO MELD ITS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DECISIONS INTO AN EC FRAMEWORK, SOME RELAPSE INTO NATIONALISM IN FISHERIES AND OTHER RESOURCE ISSUES, SLOW BUT POSSIBLY DRAMATIC (FOR IRELAND) CHANGE IN ANACHRONISTIC SOCIAL SYSTEMS, SUCH AS IN THE AREA OF

CONTRACEPTION/DIVORCE, AND FINALLY MAINTENANCE OF AND SLOW
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 DUBLIN 00713 03 OF 07 010108Z

INCREASE IN ITS NEW-FOUND POSTURE OF OPENING OUT MORE TO
THE WORLD. SOME SPECIFIC OVERVIEW AREAS:

1. THE POLITICAL SITUATION. THE IRISH NATIONAL PARLIAMENTARY
ELECTIONS THIS YEAR, OR AT THE LATEST BY EARLY 1978, WILL
NOT BRING MUCH CHANGE NO MATTER WHAT THE OUTCOME. THE TWO
PARTIES OF THE GOVERNMENT COALITION HAVE DECIDED TO STAY
TOGETHER, AND AT PRESENT THE COALITION IS SLIGHTLY
FAVORED TO WIN. THE POCKETBOOK IS THE MAIN ISSUE, AND THIS
YEAR'S BUDGET HAS BEEN A PLUS FOR THE GOVERNMENT, THOUGH
RECENT STIFF PRICE INCREASES HAVE BEEN A MINUS. IF THE
OPPOSITION FIANNA FAIL PARTY WINS, WE WILL SEE FACES WITH
WHICH WE ARE LONG FAMILIAR IN PRIOR GOVERNMENTS, AND IF
ANYTHING, OPPOSITION LEADER JACK LYNCH TENDS TO BE EVEN
MORE DISPOSED TO FAVOR U.S. INTERESTS THAN COSGRAVE. THE
ONLY SLIGHT CHANGE WOULD BE FIANNA FAIL'S NEW BUT PREDICTABLE
POLICY THAT THE BRITISH SHOULD ANNOUNCE AN INTENTION TO
WITHDRAW ULTIMATELY FROM THE NORTH. SINCE THE BRITISH
HAVE NO INTENTION, AS FAR AS WE CAN SEE, IN OBLIGING SUCH
A REQUEST, THERE COULD BE A SLIGHT RISE IN THE IRRITATION
LEVEL BETWEEN THE GOI AND HMG. HOWEVER, LYNCH AND HIS
PARTY HAVE EFFECTIVELY COOPERATED WITH THE BRITISH BEFORE
UNDER VERY DIFFICULT CONDITIONS AND WE WOULD NOT EXPECT
THE FIANNA FAIL AS A GOVERNMENT TO PUSH ITS "REPUBLICAN"
TENDENCIES TO ANY EXTREMES. NORTHERN IRELAND POLICY IS
NON-PARTISAN AND THE PRESENT IRISH GOVERNMENT CONTINUES A
POLICY BASICALLY CONCEIVED UNDER LYNCH'S EARLIER STEWARD-
SHIP.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 DUBLIN 00713 04 OF 07 010111Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 SP-02 PER-01 SIG-01 A-01
MMO-01 EB-08 SCA-01 IO-13 INR-07 PM-04 CU-02
AGR-05 AID-05 CIAE-00 COM-02 DODE-00 FEA-01 NSC-05
TRSY-02 USIA-06 /095 W
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FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8960
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMCONSUL BELFAST
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 4 OF 7 DUBLIN 0713

3. THE ECONOMIC SITUATION. EXCEPT AT THE MARGINS, IRELAND WILL HAVE LITTLE CONTROL OVER ITS OWN RECOVERY FROM THE RECESSION HANGING ON IN WESTERN EUROPE. IF EUROPEAN ECONOMIES, ESPECIALLY THE U.K., ENJOY MODERATE GROWTH WITH AN EASING OF UNEMPLOYMENT/INFLATION, THEN THERE ARE GROUNDS FOR GUARDED OPTIMISM CONCERNING THE IRISH ECONOMY IN 1977-78. THE IRISH HAVE TAKEN SOME ENCOURAGING STEPS TO PUT THEIR HOUSE IN ORDER, I.E., A RESPONSIBLE BUDGET AIMED AT MODERATE EXPANSION AND ENCOURAGING INVESTMENT PLUS A NATIONAL WAGE AGREEMENT THAT SHOULD HELP TO HOLD DOWN INFLATION. UNEMPLOYMENT, NOT EXPECTED TO GO MUCH BELOW TEN PER CENT, REMAINS A MAJOR AND POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS PROBLEM. I DO EXPECT A RELATIVELY STRONG RECOVERY IN INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT--PERHAPS EIGHT PERCENT IN 1977 FOR ALL INDUSTRY, AND AS MUCH AS TEN-TO-ELEVEN PERCENT IN MANUFACTURING. INVESTMENT SHOULD INCREASE BY ABOUT SEVEN PERCENT IN THE SAME PERIOD, AND THERE SHOULD BE STRONG RECOVERY IN THE CONSTRUCTION SECTOR (DEPENDING UPON THE OUTCOME OF A MAJOR INDUSTRIAL DISPUTE IN THAT AREA). ALL IN ALL THE ECONOMY LOOKS MODESTLY PROMISING, BUT IT DEPENDS SO MUCH ON EXTERNAL FACTORS THAT I MUST HEDGE OPTIMISM WITH
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 DUBLIN 00713 04 OF 07 010111Z

CONSIDERABLE CAUTION. INCIDENTALLY, OUR SOURCES IN BANKING AND INDUSTRY HAVE MADE CLEAR THEIR BELIEF THAT A CHANGE IN GOVERNMENT WOULD PRODUCE NO REAL CHANGE IN THE GOVERNMENT'S MODEST GROWTH-PROMOTING POLICIES.

4. THE SOCIAL SITUATION. IRELAND, THE SMALLEST EC MEMBER EXCEPT FOR LUXEMBOURG, IS FACING A LATENT CRISIS IN ITS SOCIAL FABRIC. JUST AT THE TIME WHEN THE BASICS OF THIS CONSERVATIVE AND, UNTIL QUITE RECENTLY, ISOLATED AND INSULAR SOCIETY, WERE UNDER ATTACK FROM MANY QUARTERS -- PARTICULARLY, OF COURSE, THE YOUNG--THE RECESSION ARRIVED TO ADD ITS SHARE TO THE PRESSURES. ALL OF THIS OCCURS DURING THE CONTINUING CRISIS OF NORTHERN IRELAND WHICH ADDS AN EMOTIONAL TENSION TO ALL SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS HERE, NOW USUALLY SUBLIMATED AND ENDURED AFTER NINE YEARS OF CRISIS. BUT PERHAPS THE BIGGEST PUSH FOR CHANGE COMES FROM IRELAND'S RECENT ENTRY INTO THE EC. IRELAND IS DECADES BEHIND ITS EC PARTNERS IN SOCIAL MORES. FOR INSTANCE,

CONTRACEPTION AND DIVORCE ARE STILL ILLEGAL. WOMEN ARE PARTICULARLY DISADVANTAGED BY LAW AND CUSTOM, AND IT IS NOT SURE HOW MUCH LONGER THEY WILL STAND FOR THIS SITUATION. I DO NOT WANT TO EXAGGERATE OR PREDICT WRENCHING CHANGE, BUT THERE ARE PRESSURES BENEATH THE SURFACE IN WHAT SEEMS OUTWARDLY TO BE A BENIGNLY CALM COUNTRY. WITH THE SAFETY VALVE OF IMMIGRATION NOW TURNED DOWN TO A TRICKLE, THE GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE TO ADJUST GRADUALLY TO THESE PRESSURES, PERHAPS MERELY A STEP OR TWO AHEAD OF THREATENED SOCIAL DISORDER. ANY SUDDEN ESCALATION AND SPILLOVER OF "THE TROUBLES" IN THE NORTH, COUPLED SERENDIPITOUSLY PERHAPS WITH THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL FACTORS DESCRIBED ABOVE, COULD QUICKLY DESTABILIZE THIS ISLAND.

C. OBJECTIVES, COURSES OF ACTION, AND ISSUES

1. NORTHERN IRELAND. THE MOST IMPORTANT POLICY QUESTION WE HAVE VIS-A-VIS IRELAND IS: CAN WE AS A GOVERNMENT AND CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 DUBLIN 00713 04 OF 07 010111Z

PEOPLE DO ANYTHING TO HELP ALLEVIATE THE SITUATION THERE? THIS ISSUE IS ESPECIALLY TIMELY IN VIEW OF THE CURRENT CAMPAIGN IN THE U.S. BY THE IRISH NATIONAL CAUCUS AND THE NORTHERN AID COMMITTEE TO CONVINCE THE NEW ADMINISTRATION THAT IT SHOULD INTERVENE, OR AT LEAST STOP TRYING TO PREVENT NORAIID FROM INTERVENING. THESE TWO ORGANIZATIONS AND SIMILAR ONES, ALL AVOWED SUPPORTERS OF THE PROVISIONAL SINN FEIN AND PROVISIONAL IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY (IRA), HAVE THE FOLLOWING BASIC MESSAGE:

A) THE NORTHERN PROBLEM IS A CONTINUATION OF THE CENTURIES' OLD FIGHT OF THE IRISH FOR INDEPENDENCE FROM BRITAIN.

B) THE U.S. PEOPLE HAVE A MORAL OBLIGATION TO ASSIST THE "FREEDOM FIGHTERS", AS THEY HAVE DONE IN THE PAST.

C) THE PROVISIONAL IRA ARE HEROIC, IDEALISTIC FREEDOM FIGHTERS, ENGAGED IN A "WAR" AGAINST THE BRITISH. IT IS REGRETTED THAT INNOCENT PEOPLE GET KILLED, BUT WAR IS WAR AND IT IS, IN ANY CASE, THE FAULT OF THE BRITISH.

D) THE PROPER ROLE OF THE USG IS TO DEMAND THAT THE BRITISH EVACUATE, AND UNTIL THEN NOT TO INTERFERE WITH NORAIID'S EFFORTS TO SOLICIT AID FROM AMERICANS. THE ABOVE MESSAGE IS SPECIOUS AND DISHONESTLY MISLEADING, NOT ONLY IN MY VIEW, BUT IN THE VIEW OF THE IRISH GOVERNMENT, THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, AND THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE IRISH POPULATION, NORTH AND SOUTH.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 DUBLIN 00713 05 OF 07 010116Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 SP-02 PER-01 SIG-01 A-01
MMO-01 EB-08 SCA-01 IO-13 INR-07 PM-04 CU-02
AGR-05 AID-05 CIAE-00 COM-02 DODE-00 FEA-01 NSC-05
TRSY-02 USIA-06 /095 W
-----010217Z 115930 /45

R 311829Z MAR 77
FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8961
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMCONSUL BELFAST
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 5 OF 7 DUBLIN 0713

2. THE TRUE PICTURE IS:

A) THE PROBLEM IN THE NORTH IS BASICALLY RELATED TO THE FACT THAT TWO/THIRDS OF ITS POPULATION IS PROTESTANT, AND DOES NOT WANT THE KIND OF "FREEDOM" THE IRA IS PRO-POUNDING. IN ADDITION, THE GREAT MAJORITY OF THE CATHOLICS IN THE NORTH DO NOT WANT THIS "FREEDOM" EITHER ... MOST OF THEM CERTAINLY ARE NOT SUPPORTERS OF THE IRA.

B) THE IRA IS NOT EXCLUSIVELY OR EVEN FOR THE MOST PART FIGHTING THE BRITISH SECURITY FORCES. FOR A LONG TIME THE STRUGGLE HAS BEEN A DEADLY SECTARIAN AFFAIR, WITH TIT-FOR-TAT KILLINGS BY VICIOUS TERRORIST KILLERS ON BOTH SIDES, AND A DESTRUCTIVE BOMBING CAMPAIGN.

C) THE IMAGE OF BRITISH IMPERIALISTS HANGING ON TO THIS LAST BIT OF EMPIRE UNTIL THE BITTER END IS INACCURATE. THE BRITISH WOULD WITHDRAW IF THEY SAW A RESPONSIBLE WAY OUT. FORTUNATLY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND THE OPPOSITION REALIZE THAT ANY KIND OF WITHDRAWAL, OR EVEN ANNOUNCEMENT OF INTENTION TO WITHDRAW, WOULD QUITE POSSIBLY LEAD TO OPEN CIVIL WAR. THE PROBLEM IS NOT BRITISH PRESENCE, BUT A DEEPLY POLARIZED TERRITORY WHOSE DISPARATE COMMUNITIES MUST LEARN HOW TO LIVE TOGETHER BUT WILL NEVER DO SO AS
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 DUBLIN 00713 05 OF 07 010116Z

LONG AS THEY HAVE THE INCUBUS OF THE TERRORISTS, MANY OF WHOM ARE IN IT FOR SELF GAIN; THOSE TERRORISTS UNDER TWENTY

HAVE NEVER KNOWN ANOTHER WAY OF LIFE.

D) ANY "DEMAND" BY US FOR BRITISH WITHDRAWAL WOULD BE IRRESPONSIBLE; IF THE U.K. FOLLOWED OUR DEMAND, IT WOULD LEAD TO MUCH GREATER BLOODSHED. SHOULD WE DO THIS AT THE BEHEST OF A SMALL GROUP OF PROPAGANDISTS WHO DO NOT, I BELIEVE, REPRESENT THE INFORMED IRISH-AMERICAN COMMUNITY?

E) THE NORAIID MONEY MOSTLY GOES TO BUY ARMS AND EXPLOSIVES, WHICH ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY KILL INNOCENT PEOPLE, THOUGH SOME OF IT IS USED TO SUPPORT IRA AIMS IN OTHER WAYS.

3. FORTUNATLY, JUDGING FROM REPORTS COMING OUT OF THE RECENT WASHINGTON VISIT BY IRISH FOREIGN MINISTER FITZGERALD, PRESIDENT CARTER AND SECRETARY OF STATE VANCE HAVE REJECTED THE NORAIID/PROVISIONAL POSITION. HOWEVER, JUST BECAUSE WE REJECT THE PROVISIONAL IRA APPROACH, IS THERE NOT SOME OTHER WAY WE COULD HELP TO ALLEVIATE THE SITUATION? OTHERS, INCLUDING SOME CONGRESSMEN, HAVE SUGGESTED THE FOLLOWING:

A) THE U.S., BEING A FRIEND TO ALL PARTIES, SHOULD SEND A "MEDIATOR" (NOTE: BUT BETWEEN WHOM DOES HE MEDIATE? THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS HAVE NO SERIOUS DIFFERENCE OF OPINION. NEITHER OF THESE GOVERNMENTS CAN SEE ANY USEFULNESS OF AN OUTSIDE MEDIATOR, AT LEAST AT THIS TIME. DOES THE MEDIATOR HAVE A CERTAIN MAGIC TO FORCE POWER-SHARING UPON THE PROTESTANTS, WHO HAVE REJECTED IT MANY TIMES?).

B) THE USG SHOULD TAKE THE MATTER TO THE UN. (NOTE: BUT AGAIN, WHAT ROLE DO WE ASSIGN THE U.S. OR THE U.N.? SOME WOULD HAVE US SUPPORT A RESOLUTION CONDEMNING BRITISH IMPERIALISM. BUT, AS SEEN ABOVE, THE PHRASE IS IRRELEVANT IN THE SITUATION, AND TWISTING THE LION'S TAIL IS PERHAPS SATISFYING TO SOME BUT HARDLY HELPFUL. AND, OF COURSE, NEITHER THE GOI NOR HMG WANT THE MATTER TO BE BROUGHT TO

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 DUBLIN 00713 05 OF 07 010116Z

THE U.N.).

C) UN OR OTHER PEACEKEEPING FORCES. (NOTE: ALL SUCH FORCES HERETOFORE HAVE BEEN INVITED BY THE PARTIES INVOLVED. IS THE U.N. TO INVADE A SOVEREIGN PART OF THE U.K. AGAINST THE WILL OF THE U.K.? IN ANY EVENT, A U.N. FORCE WOULD MERELY SHIFT THE THANKLESS PROBLEM OFF THE BACK FO THE FRUSTRATED BRITISH ARMY WITHOUT CHANGING THE BASIC SITUATION).

D) VARIOUS CONGRESSIONAL FACT-FINDING MISSIONS. (NOTE: WE KNOW THAT THE IRISH GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE GREAT DIFFICULTY IF SUCH A MISSION WERE TO VISIT DUBLIN AT THIS TIME. IT COULD COMPLICATE AN ALREADY TIGHT ELECTION PERIOD WHERE POLICY VIS-A-VIS THE NORTH HAS NOT BEEN A MAJOR ISSUE. IT ALSO RAISES QUESTIONS ABOUT WHAT GROUPS

WOULD BE HEARD. ALSO, WITH SO MANY HUNDREDS OF ACADEMICS, REPORTERS, PARLIAMENTARY QUESTIONS IN DUBLIN AND LONDON, ETC., I FIND IT HARD TO BELIEVE THERE ARE ANY SIGNIFICANT FACTS NOT DISCOVERED LONG AGO.)

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 01 DUBLIN 00713 06 OF 07 010119Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 SP-02 PER-01 SIG-01 A-01
MMO-01 EB-08 SCA-01 IO-13 INR-07 PM-04 CU-02
AGR-05 AID-05 CIAE-00 COM-02 DODE-00 FEA-01 NSC-05
TRSY-02 USIA-06 /095 W
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R 311829Z MAR 77
FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8962
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMCONSUL BELFAST
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 6 OF 7 DUBLIN 0713

4. ANY KIND OF INTERVENTIONIST POLICY BY THE USG WOULD NOT ONLY BE INFEASIBLE BECAUSE NEITHER THE GOVERNMENTS OF BRITAIN NOR IRELAND WANT OUR INTERVENTION, BUT ALSO SUCH A POLICY COULD ONLY EXACERBATE THE SITUATION AND PLAY INTO THE HANDS OF THE TERRORISTS. FOR SOME YEARS WE HAVE HAD THE SENSIBLE, IF FRUSTRATING, POLICY OF:

A) NON-INVOLVEMENT
B) A STANDING OFFER OF GOOD SERVICES TO BOTH GOVERNMENTS IF THEY EVER FEEL WE HAVE A ROLE TO PLAY.
I BELIEVE THIS POLICY IS PRUDENT, THE ONLY FEASIBLE ONE, AND SHOULD BE CONTINUED.

5. THERE ARE SEVERAL SLIGHTLY HOPEFUL SIGNS ON THE HORIZON, ALTHOUGH FEW OF THEM HAVE COME INTO SHARP FOCUS. FIRSTLY, LONDON/DUBLIN COOPERATION REMAINS STRONG ON A POLICY LOOKING TOWARD POWER SHARING IN THE NORTH, DESPITE THE STRESS CAUSED BY THE STRASBOURG HUMAN RIGHTS CASE. SECONDLY, LOCAL ELECTIONS IN THE NORTH IN MAY, 1977 MIGHT ENCOURAGE PROGRESS TOWARD LOCAL GOVERNMENT MORE FAVORABLY DISPOSED TO POWER SHARING, ACCORDING TO THE GOI. THIRDLY, THE GOI HAS PAINSTAKINGLY ESTABLISHED LINES OF COMMUNICATION
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 DUBLIN 00713 06 OF 07 010119Z

WITH THE PROTESTANT POLITICAL LEADERS, AS A SMALL STEP TOWARD CONFIDENCE-BUILDING. FOURTHLY, RELIGIOUS LEADERS SEEM TO BE MORE READY TO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT A COOPERATIVE STANCE MUST BE MADE TO TRY TO HEAL THE DEEP RELIGIOUS SUSPICION AND DIVISION ON THIS ISLAND. AND FINALLY THE PEACE MOVEMENT REFUSES TO DIE.

6. HOWEVER, I DO NOT WANT TO EXAGGERATE OPTIMISM. AS SEEN FROM DUBLIN VIOLENCE SEEMS TO BE ON AN ASCENDING SCALE. THE TERRORISTS SEEM TO BE AS STRONG IF NOT STRONGER THAN EVER. ON THE POLITICAL SIDE THE INTRASIGENTS SUCH AS IAN PAISLY AND BISHOP BHILBIN SEEM TO BE STRONGER THAN THE MODERATES. THE ECONOMY CONTINUES TO DETERIORATE. DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT SEEMS TO BE A NON-STARTER. THERE HAS BEEN ALMOST NO ATTEMPT TO START A PROCESS OF BREAKING THE POLARIZATION, WHICH IS FAR MORE RIGID NOW THAN IT WAS NINE YEARS AGO.

7. IN LAST YEAR'S POLICY ASSESSMENT BY THE DEPARTMENT THERE WAS CONSIDERABLE DETAIL ABOUT HOW WE COULD COOPERATE WITH IRISH AND BRITISH AUTHORITIES TO PREVENT ILLEGAL COLLECTION OF MONEY AND SUPPLY OF MUNITIONS FOR THE PROVISIONAL IRA. I BELIEVE THAT PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE IN MOST OF THE AREAS OF COOPERATION AND URGE THE VARIOUS AGENCIES INVOLVED, AND THE COORDINATING INTER-AGENCY COMMITTEE, TO KEEP UP THE GOOD WORK. ONE POSSIBLE NEW AREA OF COOPERATION: A SENIOR IRISH OFFICIAL HAS SUGGESTED THAT WE INSTALL A "SECURE" COMMUNICATIONS CIRCUIT BETWEEN THE IRISH POLICE AND U.S. AGENCIES WORKING ON THIS PROBLEM (PRIMARILY FBI, CUSTOMS AND OTHER TREASURY AGENCIES). I RECOMMEND THAT WE INVESTIGATE THIS PROPOSAL AND IMPLEMENT IT IF FEASIBLE.

8. OTHER OBJECTIVES THAT FLOW FROM OUR INTERESTS:

A) ECONOMIC RECOVERY. WE SHOULD DO WHATEVER WE CAN TO ASSIST IRISH RECOVERY FROM THE CURRENT ECONOMIC RECESSION.
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 DUBLIN 00713 06 OF 07 010119Z

IF THE U.S. WERE TO PARTICIPATE IN PROGRAMS FOR ECONOMIC RECOVERY IN ITALY AND THE U.K., WE SHOULD KEEP IN MIND THE FACT THAT IRELAND'S ECONOMY IS VERY MUCH TIED TO THAT OF THE U.K. (POLICY PLANNING STAFF'S BROAD TRENDS FORECAST). ALSO, U.S. INVESTMENT CAN STIMULATE THIS RECOVERY; SINCE THE RECOVERY IS A PRIMARY INTEREST I BELIEVE WE SHOULD ASSIST AMERICAN INVESTORS AND THE GOI'S VIGOROUS

PURSUIT OF U.S. INVESTMENT.

B) ROLE IN THE EC. WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO SUPPORT IRELAND'S POSITIVE ROLE IN THE EC AND, ALLIED WITH THAT, WE SHOULD IMPROVE AND INTENSIFY OUR CONSULTATIONS WITH THE IRISH IN THE US/EC CONTEXT.

C) MULTILATERAL. IRELAND WILL BE MOST RECEPTIVE TO CLOSE CONSULTATION ON MANY MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS, AND WE MUST PAY INCREASING ATTENTION TO OPPORTUNITIES IN THIS AREA. ALTHOUGH IN MOST AFFAIRS IRELAND WILL NATURALLY FOLLOW THE EC POSITION, THE IRISH ARE RECEPTIVE TO OUR APPROACHES PRIOR TO EC DECISION, AND THIS IS THE CRUCIAL TIME. I RECOMMEND THAT OUR ALREADY CLOSE DIALOGUE ON CSCE BE STRENGTHENED AND THAT WE TAKE STEPS TO EXPEDITE IRELAND'S RECEPTION OF NATO PAPERS ON THIS SUBJECT (THEY ARE APPARENTLY ALL PASSED TO THE IRISH ANYWAY IN THE EC CONTEXT, AND THE

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 01 DUBLIN 00713 07 OF 07 010122Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 SP-02 PER-01 SIG-01 A-01
MMO-01 EB-08 SCA-01 IO-13 INR-07 PM-04 CU-02
AGR-05 AID-05 CIAE-00 COM-02 DODE-00 FEA-01 NSC-05
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8963
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AMCONSUL BELFAST
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 7 OF 7 DUBLIN 0713

USUAL DELAY IS UNNECESSARILY TROUBLESOME). WITH ITS OUT-
SPOKEN ATTITUDE TOWARD HUMAN RIGHTS IRELAND WILL BE A
POSITIVE AND HELPFUL PARTICIPANT AT BELGRADE. ANOTHER
MULTILATERAL AREA IN WHICH CONSULTATION COULD BE INCREASED
IS IN THE LABOR FIELD. THE IRISH HERETOFORE HAVE TAKEN
LITTLE INTEREST IN INTERNATIONAL LABOR AFFAIRS BOTH ON THE
GOVERNMENTAL SIDE AND THE TRADE UNION SIDE. SINCE OUR
VIEWS ARE IDENTICAL FOR THE MOST PART IT WOULD PAY DIVIDENDS
TO URGE A MORE ACTIVE ROLE.

D) HUMAN RIGHTS. IN MANY OTHER INTERNATIONAL FORUMS
THE IRISH ARE WILLING AND EAGER TO SUPPORT THE U.S. STANCE

ON HUMAN RIGHTS. WE SHOULD TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THIS CLOSE CONCORDANCE. FOR INSTANCE, WITHIN THE EC IRELAND IS THE STRONGEST EXPONENT OF PUBLIC DISCUSSION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, WITH THE POSSIBLE EXCEPTION OF THE DUTCH.

E) ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL INTERESTS. WE MUST CONTINUE TO PROMOTE U.S. ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL INTERESTS IN IRELAND, INCLUDING EMBASSY TRADE PROMOTION PROJECTS DRAWING ON THE FACILITIES AND EXPERTISE OF THE LONDON TRADE CENTER. WE SHOULD ALSO TIE IN CLOSOVXGOTHER EMBASSY SECTIONS IN PROMOTION OF U.S. TRADE, E.G., USIS
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 DUBLIN 00713 07 OF 07 010122Z

AND THE AGRICULTURAL ATTACHE'S OFFICE. WE MUST BE MORE AGGRESSIVE IN SEEKING AMERICAN EXPORT OPPORTUNITIES.

F) NARCOTICS. ALTHOUGH ABUSE AND TRAFFICKING IS STILL RELATIVELY LOW COMPARED TO OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, THE PROBLEM IS GROWING IN SCOPE. WE HAVE ASSISTED THE DRUG SQUAD ON NUMEROUS OCCASIONS, BUT I BELIEVE WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF DEA LONDON WE CAN DO MUCH MORE IN THE AREA OF TRAINING AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE. DURING THE NEXT YEAR I HOPE THAT WE CAN ARRANGE FOR AN EXECUTIVE LEVEL COURSE FOR THE CHIEF IRISH NARCOTICS CONTROL OFFICER. ALSO, THE NEW IRISH DRAFT LEGISLATION FOR THE CONTROL OF ABUSE OF DANGEROUS DRUGS BILL (THE DRAFT OF WHICH WAS ASSISTED BY THE EMBASSY), SEEMS TO HAVE FALLEN ON THE LEGISLATIVE BACK BURNER, AND WE SHOULD HELP TO CALL ATTENTION TO IT AS OCCASION WARRANTS.

G) PUBLIC AFFAIRS. UNDER THE RUBRIC OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO MONITOR PUBLIC ATTITUDES IN IRELAND TOWARD THE UNITED STATES AND WORK TO MAINTAIN AND IMPROVE THE GENERALLY FAVORABLE ATTITUDES OF OPINION MAKERS AND THE PUBLIC. THESE INCLUDE:

1) MAINTAINING AN ADEQUATE AND SELECTIVE "TARGETED" INTERNATIONAL VISITORS PROGRAM WITH AN EMPHASIS ON THE SELECTION OF YOUNG OPINION MAKERS WHO WILL INFLUENCE IRISH POLICY OVER TIME.

2) MAINTAINING A HIGH VISIBILITY PUBLIC AND CULTURAL AFFAIRS PROGRAM THAT WILL CAPITALIZE ON THE MOMENTUM THAT GOT US MUCH MILEAGE DURING THE BICENTENNIAL YEAR.

3) CONTINUING THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF AMERICAN STUDIES IN IRISH EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS USING WHEREVER POSSIBLE THE RECENTLY REACTIVATED IRISH ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN STUDIES.

4) CONTINUING AND INCREASING OUR CONTACTS IN THE IRISH MEDIA TO PROMOTE BALANCED AND FAVORABLE COVERAGE OF U.S. AFFAIRS.

H) CONSULAR AFFAIRS. THE WORK OF THE CONSULAR
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 DUBLIN 00713 07 OF 07 010122Z

SECTION IS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE MISSION'S OBJECTIVE TO
CREATE A FAVORABLE IMAGE OF THE AMERICAN PRESENCE IN
IRELAND, WHILE EFFICIENTLY ADMINISTERING U.S. LAW AND
REGULATIONS.

I) SECURITY. WE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO DISCUSS
SECURITY MATTERS WITH THE IRISH GOVERNMENT IF THE SUBJECT
IS RAISED WITH US. I SUGGEST THAT THE IMPLICATIONS OF
IRELAND AS RELATED TO NATO (OR OTHER SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS
WITHIN THE EC) SHOULD BE A TOPIC FOR STUDY BY THE DEPARTMENT.
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